

Message Text

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TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMB. JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 25, 1975 (SALT TWO-690)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMB. JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 25, 1975.

QUOTE:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

JULY 25, 1975

MR. MINISTER,

I

TODAY I WANT TO DISCUSS PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVII
OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT, WHICH DEALS WITH VERIFICATION BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGA-
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TIONS TO BE ASSUMED BY THE SIDES UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

I HOPE THAT THIS DISCUSSION WILL PROVIDE THE SOVIET SIDE WITH A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. POSITION AND ITS RATIONALE, AND THAT IT CAN PROVIDE A BASIS FOR THE FUTURE WORK OF OUR DELEGATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT.

II

FIRST, I WILL REVIEW VARIOUS ASPECTS OF ARMS DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. ALL THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WILL BE LIMITED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT GO THROUGH A SUCCESSION OF STAGES. SUCH ARMS MUST FIRST BE DEVELOPED, A PROCESS WHICH NECESSARILY INVOLVES TESTING, INCLUDING FLIGHT TESTING OF MISSILES AND AIRCRAFT. THE ARMS MUST BE CONSTRUCTED OR ASSEMBLED, AND THEN MADE OPERATIONAL. SOME WILL BE INVOLVED IN TRAINING ACTIVITIES. ROUTINE MAINTENANCE, AS WELL AS REPAIR AND OVERHAUL, MUST BE CARRIED OUT. CONVERSION FROM ONE CONFIGURATION TO ANOTHER MAY BE ACCOMPLISHED. ARMS MAY BE MODERNIZED OR REPLACED. ALSO, ARMS MAY BE MOTHBALLED OR PUT INTO STORAGE OR RESERVE, AND ULTIMATELY MAY BE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED.

SOME ARMS WILL BE COUNTED UNDER BOTH THE 2400 AND THE 1320 LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENTS, SOME WILL BE COUNTED ONLY UNDER THE 2400 LIMITATION, AND SOME WILL NOT BE COUNTED. IN ORDER TO CONFIRM WHETHER A GIVEN SYSTEM OF ONE SIDE SHOULD BE COUNTED AND IF SO UNDER WHICH LIMITATION, IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE OTHER SIDE THROUGH ITS NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION TO COLLECT AND TO ANALYZE DATA DURING THE VARIOUS STAGES OF THE SYSTEM'S EXISTENCE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN ORDER TO CONFIRM WHETHER A GIVEN TYPE OF AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILE OF ONE SIDE IS CAPABLE OF RANGES EXCEEDING 600 KILOMETERS, THE OTHER SIDE MUST OBTAIN DATA DURING THE FLIGHT TESTING OF THAT SYSTEM. SIMILARLY, A BALLISTIC MISSILE DEVELOPED BY ONE SIDE MAY BE CAPABLE OF BEING DEPLOYED WITH A MIRV SYSTEM, A FACT WHICH CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED DURING THE DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING STATE. AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE, IN ORDER TO KNOW WHETHER TO CONTINUE TO COUNT A GIVEN ICBM LAUNCHER OF ONE SIDE UNDER THE 2400 LIMITATION, THE OTHER SIDE

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MUST MONITOR THE DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF THAT LAUNCHER.

THUS, THE ACQUISITION OF DATA THROUGH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS ON ACTIVITIES AT MANY STAGES OF EACH SYSTEM'S EXISTENCE WILL BE NECESSARY FOR VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVII IS DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF EACH SIDE ARE NOT IMPEDED IN THE COURSE OF PERFORMING THIS IMPORTANT

TASK, HOWEVER, THE U.S. DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVII APPLY ONLY TO A PARTICULAR LIST OF MEASURES AND PRACTICES. IT IS THE U.S. VIEW THAT THE SIDES MUST NOT USE ANY MEASURE OR PRACTICE WHICH IS DESIGNED FOR THE PURPOSE OF IMPEDING ANY MONITORING RELEVANT TO THE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT.

IN THIS CONTEXT WE HAVE EMPHASIZED TESTING PRACTICES IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES THAT THE GATHERING BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF DATA ON TESTING SHALL NOT BE IMPEDED BY EITHER SIDE. THE SIDES MUST BE ABLE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SYSTEMS WHICH ARE TO BE LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT, AND SYSTEMS WHICH ARE NOT TO BE LIMITED. CERTAIN IMPORTANT DISTINCTIONS IN THIS REGARD MUST BE MADE DURING THE TESTING PHASE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT TESTING PRACTICES, AS WELL AS OTHER PRACTICES, MAY CHANGE OVER TIME, AND THAT IT IS NOT REASONABLE TO PREDETERMINE PRACTICES OR TO ESTABLISH ANY SPECIFIC PRACTICES ONE AND FOR ALL. HOWEVER, WE WANT TO ENSURE THAT WHEN NEW PRACTICES ARE DEVELOPED, FOR EXAMPLE IN TESTING SYSTEMS TO BE DEPLOYED IN THE COURSE OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT, THE SIDES ARE OBLIGATED NOT TO DEVELOP THOSE PRACTICES WITH AN OBJECTIVE OF IMPEDING VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

III

I ALSO WANT TO NOTE THAT MEASURES AND PRACTICES MAY IN FACT IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE NOT DESIGNED WITH THAT OBJECTIVE IN MIND. THE EFFECT OF SUCH A HINDRANCE CAN BE AS SERIOUS AS THAT CAUSED BY A MEASURE OR PRACTICE WHICH IS DESIGNED TO IMPEDE VERIFICATION. IT IS THE U.S. VIEW THAT MEASURES AND PRACTICES WHICH

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IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, EVEN THOUGH THAT IS NOT THEIR INTENDED OBJECTIVE, CANNOT BE IGNORED, BUT MUST ALSO BE ADDRESSED BY AN APPROPRIATE COMMITMENT UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IV

MR. MINISTER, TODAY I HAVE PROVIDED ELABORATION ON THE U.S. VIEWS CONCERNING VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS TO BE ASSUMED BY THE SIDES UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, AND HAVE RESPONDED TO CONCERNS RAISED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ON JULY 18. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THIS EXCHANGE PROVIDES A BASIS FOR PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THIS ISSUE.

UNQUOTE. JOHNSON

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